

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

SAJ-01 /061 W  
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P R 211828Z SEP 76  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7230  
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 7195

E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR,SP, PO  
SUBJECT: THE SPANISH SOCIALIST SCENE

REF: (A) LISBON 6097 (B) MADRID 4696 6168 (C) MADRID 4520  
(D) MADRID 4984

SUMMARY MARIO SOARES INTEREST IN TRYING TO HELP INJECT  
RATIONALITY INTO THE SPANISH SOCIALIST SCENE PROMOTS THE  
FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIALIST SCENE HERE. SOARES'S  
ADVICE AND GOOD OFFICES MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN BRINGING SPANISH  
SOCIALIST LEADERS TOGETHER, BUT, AT A MINIMUM, UNITY  
WILL BE NO EASY TASK SINCE SPANISH SOCIALISM IS SPLINTERED  
BY PERSONAL, REGIONAL AND PERCEIVED PROGRAMMATIC DIFFERENCES  
IN ADDITION TO TALKING SENSE ABOUT SOCIALIST  
UNITY, IT ALSO WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR SOARES TO REMIND SPANISH  
SOCIALIST LEADERS THAT THEIR OWN BEST INTERESTS ARE  
UNLIKELY TO BE SERVED BY COOPERATION OR ELECTORAL ALLIANCES  
WITH THE COMMUNISTS, END SUMMARY.

1. ANY EFFORT BY SOARES TO BRING TOGETHER SPANISH SOCIALIST  
LEADERS WITH A VIEW TO SOCIALIST UNITY (REF A)  
SHOULD DO NO HARM, AND MIGHT JUST DO CONSIDERABLE GOOD,  
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PARTICULARLY IF SOARES ALSO USES THE OPPORTUNITY TO

CAUTION THE SOCIALISTS AGAINST CLOSE COOPERATION OR ELECTORAL ALLIANCES WITH THE PCE. THE ATLANTIC DEMOCRACIES SHARE AN INTEREST IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A STRONG DEMOCRATIC WESTERN ORIENTED SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE TO THE COMMUNISTS, WHO MAY OTHERWISE, AS IN ITALY COME TO DOMINATE THE POLITICAL LEFT IN THE YEARS AHEAD. THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS (PCE) BECAUSE OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO CONVEYING A RELATIVELY MODERATE, "EUROCOMMUNISTS" IMAGE, MAY WELL IN YEARS TO COME BE A MUCH MORE SERIOUS THREAT TO SPANISH SOCIALISM THAN CUNHAL'S BRAND OF COMMUNISM HAS BEEN TO SOARES AND PORTUGUESE SOCIALISM.

2. SOARES AND WHAT HE HAS ACCOMPLISHED MAINTAIN A STRONG ATTRACTION FOR SPANISH SOCIALISM. THE PSOE, THOUGH IT LOOKS FIRST TO BRANDT AND MITTERAND, MANIFESTS A HEALTHY RESPECT FOR SOARES, SOARES WOULD HAVE TO RELIZE, HOWEVER THAT INTERREGIONAL DIFFERENCES AND SUSPICIONS COMPLICATE THE QUESTION OF SOCIALIST UNITY, ONE OF THE FEW PROBLEMS WITH TH WHICH HE WAS NOT CONFRONTED. THE FOLLOWING RUNDOWN OF THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY WITHIN SPANISH SOCIALISM MIGHT BE OF ASISTANCE IN ANY TALKS WITH SOARES ON THE SUBJECT.

3. MOST COMPETING SPANISH SOCIALIST LEADERS GIVE AT LEAST LIP SERVICE TO UNITY AND TEND TO RECONGNIZE THAT, COME ELECTIONS, TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY DO NOT HANG TOGETHER THEY MAY WELL HANG SEPARATELY. AS THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER SPANISH SOCIALISM, LIKE MOST OTHER SIGNIFICANT SPANISH POLITICAL CURRENTS, IS DIVIDED BY PERSONAL AMBITIONS, PRECEIVED PROGRAMMATIC DIFFERENCES, AND REGIONALISM. THESE FACTORS HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE FORMATION OF THREE COMPERITORS TO THE 88 YEAR OLD SPANISH SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (PSOE). THEY ARE THE PSOE "HISTORICAL" FACTION, THE POLULAR SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP) AND THE RECENTLY CREATED FEDERATION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES, (FPS)

4. THE PSOE (REF B) IS THE ONLY SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY RECONGIZED BY THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. AS THE ESULT OF FINANCIAL BACKING AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT FROM THE SPD AND THE INTENSE EFFORTS OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP OVER THE PAST YEAR, THE PSOE IS BY FAR THE BEST FUNDED AND MOST EFFECTIVELY ORGANIZED NON COMMUNISTS OPPOSITION PARTY. AT

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LAST COUNT, THE PSOE HAD PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL LEVEL ORGANIZATIONS FUNCTIONING IN 48 OF SPAIN'S 50 PROVINCES. ALTHOUGH IT ENCOUNTERS OBSTACLES IN AREAS WHERE REGIONAL SENTIMENT IS PARTICULARLY STRONG, AND HAS ITS WORK CUT OUT OF IT VIS A VIS THE COMMUNISTS (PCE) IN THE BLUE COLLAR SECTOR, THE PARTY APPEARS TO HAVE MADE PROGRESS OVER THE PAST YEAR. IT LABOR AFFILIATE, THE UGT, IS THE MOST IMPORTANT NON COMMUNIST OPPOSITION LABOR ORGANIZATION

THE PSOE LEADERSHIP IS HOPEFUL THAT THE LINGERING FACTIONAL  
PROBLEM WITH THE OLD GUARD "HISTORICAL"  
GROUP CAN BE LARGELY PATCHED UP AT THE FALL CONGRESS.  
WE HAVE THIS HOPE, SINCE THE "HISTORICALS" ARE STRONGLY  
OPPOSED TO COOPERATION WITH PCE. THEIR PRESENCE WOULD STRENGTHEN THE  
POSITION OF LIKE MINDED ELEMENTS, LED BY FORMER COMMUNISTS ENRIQUE  
MUFICA, THE PSOE'S ACKNOWLEDGED NUMBER TWO MAN, WHO ARE ALREADY IN  
PLACE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 7195

E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR,SP, PO  
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REF: (A) LISBON 6097 (B) MADRID 4696 6168 (C) MADRID 4520  
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5. THE PSOE IS THE TARGET OF TWO MAJOR CRITICISMS FROM  
ITS MORE SIGNIFICANT SOCIALIST RIVALS: THE REGIONALLY  
ORIENTED FPS CHARGES THAT THE PSOE IS TOO "CENTRALIST"  
AND THE PSP INVEIGHTS AGAINST THE PSOE'S MODERATION " AND THE  
LACK OF MARXIST ELAN. FELIPE GONZALEZ AND  
HIS YOUNG LEADERSHIP TEAM ARE OFTEN LEBELED THE CREATION  
OF THE SPD AND THEY ARE SOMETIMES CHARACTERIZED AS TOO  
INEXPERIENCED FOR THE TASK THAT CONFRONTS THEM. IN RESPONSE

TO THE FPS CRITICISM, THE PSOE LEADERSHIP REITERATES ITS SUPPORT FOR A "FEDERAL" SPANISH STATE-- AND A "FEDERATED" SOCIALIST PARTY. AS FOR CHARGES OF "MODERATION" GONZALEZ IS FOLLOWING A LINE VERY SIMILAR TO SOARES IN ATTEMPTING TO BRACKET SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND NON LENINIST MARXISM. CONCERNING THE PREOCCUPATION OF SOARES AND OTHERS OVER GONZALEZ LACK OF EXPERIENCE TWO YEARS AGO MANY DOUBTS WERE ENTERAINED ABOUT SOARES HIMSELF ON THAT SCORE. THERE CLEARLY IS A LONG AND DIFFEICULT CONFIDENTIAL

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ROAD AHEAD OF THE PSOE, BUT THIS FAR GONZALEZ HAS PERFORMED IN A REASONABLY CREDITABLE FASHION, THOUGH NO ONE CAN BE SURE HOW STRONG OR PERMANENT HIS LEADERSHIP IS.

6. THE PSP IS LARGELY THE CREATION OF ONE MAN, ENRIQUE TIerno GALVAN, AND GREW LARGELY OUT OF TIerno'S STRONG PERSONAL APPEAL TO YOUNG PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS BURING HIS TEACHING DAYS. TIerno IS CLOSE TO SOEREA AS THE RESULT OF THEIR LONG YEARS OF COLLABORATION; IN FACT SOARES ATTENTION TO TIerno AND TACTICAL CULTIVATION OF THE PCE DURING THE EARLY DAYS OF THE REVOLUTAION DID NOT SET AT ALL WELL WITH THE PSOE. TIerno CLEARLY IS THE CURRENT GRAND ZIGS AND ZAGS HAVE TESTIFIED TO A CERTAIN OPPORTUNISM ON HIS PARTN HE IS WIDELY RESPECTED AMONG THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND WOULD BE A LOGICAL CHOICE FOR FIGURE HEAD LEADER OF A UNIFIED SPANISH SOCIALISM.

7. HOWEVER, TIerno'S PERSONAL STATURE AND THE VIABILITY OF HIS PARTY ARE TWO PROFOUNDLY DIFFERENT MATTERS. THE PSP IS CURRENTLY OPERATED OUT OF THE LAW OFFICE OF SEC GEN RAUL MORODO, TIerno'S PROTEGE, WHO IS IN EFFECTIVE CHARGE OF THE PARTY BECAUSE OF TIerno'S MIDDLEING HEALTH AND RECENT CATARACT OPERATIONS. WHERE THE PSOE IS SOME TIMES CALLED A PARTY WITHOUT AN IDEOLOGY, THE PSP IS OFTEN LABELED AN IDEOLOGY WITHOUT A PARTY. IT LACKS ADEQUATE FUNDING EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION, A BROAD POPULAR BASE OF SUPPORT, AND HAS NO LABOR AFFILIATE. MORODO, THOUGH AN ATTRACTIVE AND CAPABLE MAN IS HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL. HIS "PERSONALISM" HAS CAUSED A NUMBER OF PARTY NOTABLE TO BOLT AND HAS ENGENDERED RANK AND FILE GRUMBLING. MOREOVER THE PARTY'S CURRENT TACTIC OF EMPHAZIZING ITS RADICAL CREDENTIALS IN ORDER TO OUTLANK THE PSOE TO THE LEFT (REF C) RAISES BASIC QUESTIONS ABOUT THE JUDGMENT AND IDEOLOGICAL PROCLIVITIES OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. THERE ARE WIDESPREAD SUSPICIONS, NOT JUST WITHIN THE PSOE RANKS, THAT THE PSP RANK AND FILE IS SHOT THROUGH WITH PCE FIFTH COLUMNISTS. THE PSP COULD BECOME A SPANISH MDP.

8. PERHAPS MORE SERIOUS THAN THE BASICALLY MADRID CENTERED  
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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PSOE AND THE PSP IS THE TENDENCY  
OF SPANISH SOCIALISM LIKE MOTE OTHER MAJOR POLITICAL  
CURRENTS, TO SPLINTER ALONG THE REGIONAL LINES. THE  
FPS, A LOOSE COALITION OF ELEVEN REGIONAL SOCIALIST  
GROUPINGS, SOME OF THEM LITTLE MORE THAN LETTERHEAD OUTFITS  
IS A DIRECT RESULT OF JUST SUCH FRACTIONALIZATION (REF D)  
AND EVEN IT DOES NOT INCLUDE ALL THE MAJOR REGIONAL  
GROUPINGS. THE PARTIT SOCIALISTA DE CATALUNYA  
OF JOSEP PALLACH FOR ONE REMANS OUTSIDE LEADING FIGURES IN THE  
FPS ARE BRECELONA'S JOAN RAVENTOS (CONVERGENCIA SOCIALISMTA DE CAT  
ALUNY)) SEVILLE'S ALEJANDRO ROJAS MARCOS (PARTIDO SOCIALIST  
DE ANDALUCIA,.). BOTH OF WHOM ARE VERY CLOSE  
TO AND PERHAPS ARE BEING USED BY THE COMMUNISTS AND MADRID  
ENRIQUE BARON (RECONSTRUCCION SOCIALIST). THE FPS IS TIED LOOSLEY  
TO THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST USO TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION, THE  
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT NON COMMUNIST OPPOSITION LABOR  
GROUPING.

9. SOCIALIST UNITY IN SPAIN OBVIUOSLY IS GOING TO BE  
NO EASY TASK. PRORESS IN THAT DIRECTION CAN BE MADE  
TO THE EXTENT THAT COMPETING PERSONAL AMBITIONS AND PERCEIVED  
PROGRAMMATIC DIFFERENCES CAN BE RECONCILED AND REGIONAL GROUPS  
CAN BE CONVINCED THAT  
THE MADRID BASED PARTIES ARE LESS "CENTRALSI" THAN THEY  
FEAR. HOWEVER, EVEN IF THE THE PSOE AND PSO CAN RESOLVE THEIR  
DIFFERENCES THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NATIONAL PARTY WITH A  
SIGNIFICANT BASE OF SUPPORT IN ALL REGIONS MAY BE IMPORSIBLE,  
PARTICULARLY IN AREAS SUCH AS CATALONIA, WHERE REGIONAL  
PARTIES ARE WELL ENTRENCHED AND EXTREMELY RELUCANT  
TO DO ANYTHIGN THAT WOULD LABEL THEM A "BRANCH"  
OF A MADRID BASED PARTY. IN ANY EVENTTHE PSOE IS THE CENTER  
OF GRAVITY AROUND WHICH SOCIALIST UNITY WOULD HAVE TO ACHIEVED  
SOARES ADVICE AND GOOD OFFICES MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO SUCH A END.  
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## Message Attributes

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